

Q. # 1300

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Address of Mr. Yosuke Matsuoka, Minister for Foreign  
Affairs, at the 76th Session of the  
Imperial Diet

January 21, 1941.

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity of explaining  
at the reopening of the 76th session of the Diet the recent course of  
our country's foreign affairs.

Needless to say, the aim of Japan's foreign policy is that of  
enabling all nations of the world each to take its own proper place,  
in accordance with the spirit of the Hakko Ichiu, the very ideal which  
inspired the foundation of our Empire. The object of the Three-Power  
Pact concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy on September 27 last  
is none other than the realization of the same great ideal. We are,  
one and all, profoundly moved that His Majesty the Emperor was graciously  
pleased to grant an Imperial Rescript on the conclusion of the Pact,  
clearly indicating to the nation the path which they should follow.

The Three-Power Pact stipulates that Germany and Italy recognize  
and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order  
in Greater East Asia. It is our avowed purpose to bring all the people  
in Greater East Asia to revert to their innate and proper aspect,  
promoting conciliation and co-operation among them, and thereby setting  
the example of universal concord. The Pact also provides that Japan  
recognizes and respects the leadership of Germany and Italy in their  
similar endeavours in Europe. Far from antagonizing any country,  
the Pact is the embodiment of a peaceful but powerful co-operation  
directed towards the establishment of a new world order. In accordance  
with the provisions of the treaty, arrangements have already been made  
for setting up mixed commissions at the capitals of the three countries.  
Friendly relations between the three nations are thus becoming evermore  
closer, politically, militarily, economically and culturally.  
During the month of November, last year, the Pact was adhered to by  
Hungary, Rumania and Slovakia. It need not be repeated that the  
keynote of Japan's diplomacy is the ideal of the Hakko Ichiu and that  
it revolves round the Three-Power Pact as its axis. In this connection,  
I should like to touch briefly upon Article Three of the Three-Power  
Pact. That article provides that the Contracting Parties undertake to  
assist one another with all political, economic and military means if  
one of the Contracting Parties is attacked by a power at present not

involved in the European War or in the Sino-Japanese conflict. In case such an attack should be made, the obligation stipulated by this article would, of course, arise. Incidentally, reference may be made to Italy's military operations. There appear to be various species of malicious propaganda circulated on this head, but I have no doubt that our ally Italy will attain her object before long.

Of the nations in Greater East Asia, Manchoukuo has special and inseparable relations with this country. As you are aware, during the ten years which have already elapsed since her emergence as an independent nation, her national foundations have become strong and secure while her international position has been greatly enhanced, her teeming millions ever enjoying an increasing measure of prosperity. In June, last year, the Emperor of Manchoukuo paid a visit to Japan to offer His felicitations personally to our Imperial House on the auspicious occasion of the 2,600th anniversary of the foundation of our Empire. This is a source of genuine congratulation for the peoples of Japan and Manchoukuo, as it is a conspicuous manifestation of the unique relations subsisting between the two nations, sharing, as they do, common aims and aspirations. By the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty concluded with the National Government at Nanking, and through the Joint Declaration made by Japan, Manchoukuo and China, the Republic of China recognized Manchoukuo, with the result that an exchange of ambassadors has been arranged between them.

Inasmuch as an early settlement of the China Affair is desirable in the interests of the creation of this sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, the present Government ever since their formation, have urged the Chiang Kai-shek regime to reconsider and reverse its attitude, with a view of bringing about its amalgamation with the Nanking Government, but it remains still struggling against Japan. The Chiang regime, however, is riddled with internal disruption and friction which are rapidly growing acute, while the masses under its control are suffering from high prices, a dearth of commodities and other severe tribulations. While the armed resistance of Chiang's regime has notably declined, the Chinese communist troops have greatly gained in influence, with the result that they are steadily encroaching upon the sphere of influence of the Chungking armies. The leader in Chungking now seems to be greatly harassed by the rampancy of the communist forces. Despite its being in such a miserable plight, the Chiang regime is still advocating national reconstruction through continued resistance against Japan. This is due to its misplaced hopes in assistance from Great Britain and the United States, especially the latter, and also to past circumstances the effect of which that regime can not easily escape. In June, last year, Great Britain temporarily suspended the traffic of goods destined for the Chiang regime by the Hongkong and Burma routes. On October 18 of last year, however, following the announcement of the Three Power Pact, that country reopened the Burma route and has since been trying to transport goods by that route. Furthermore, Great Britain recently granted the Chiang regime a ten million pound sterling loan, while ~~about the same time the United States, too, offered~~



a loan of one hundred million dollars. The latter country is now endeavouring to extend assistance to Great Britain on a large scale by mobilizing her entire resources, while the Burma route is being seriously and successively damaged by appropriate measures taken by our loyal and gallant air forces. It seems highly problematical, therefore, what assistance Great Britain and the United States can actually afford the Chiang regime. In the light of such an international situation, the Japanese Government, in pursuance of their fixed policy, recognized the National Government at Nanking and on November 30 of last year concluded with the latter the Sino-Japanese Basic Treaty. This Treaty embodies the three basic principles of good neighbourliness, economic co-operation and joint defence against communist activities. It stipulates that both Japan and China respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and undertake close economic co-operation on the basis of equality and reciprocity, and that Japanese forces be stationed in certain specified areas in Manchuria and North China. Not only does Japan demand no territorial cession and no indemnities, but she has willingly pledged to China a policy of abolishing extraterritoriality and also of restoring the "concessions" to China. This is an eloquent testimony of her sincere desire for the attainment of a moral union of the Asiatic peoples. Now that the Basic Treaty has been signed and the Joint Declaration by Japan, Manchoukuo and China issued, it is incumbent upon us to concentrate our efforts on assisting the Nanking Government to develop into the general government of China both in name and in fact. We have thus maintained an attitude to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of establishing a sphere of co-prosperity throughout Greater East Asia with Japan, Manchoukuo and China as its pivotal point.

Let us now make a brief survey of our relations with the Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China, and Thailand, which lie within the above-mentioned sphere of common prosperity.

The Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China, if only for geographical reasons, should be in intimate and inseparable relationship with our country. Therefore, the situation which has hitherto thwarted the development of this natural relationship must be thoroughly remedied and relations of good neighbourliness secured for the promotion of mutual prosperity. With this in view, early in September last, the Government despatched Mr. Ichizo Kobayashi, Minister of Commerce and Industry, to the Netherlands East Indies as a special envoy. Mr. Kobayashi was obliged to return to Japan by circumstances preventing his prolonged sojourn abroad, when a definite stage had been reached in his negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities concerning purchases of oil and other urgent questions. As his successor, the Government have recently sent to the Netherlands East Indies Mr. Kenkichi Yoshizawa, formerly Minister of Foreign Affairs. He had already resumed the negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies authorities.

(Sealed by Wong Ching-wei)

As regards French Indo-China, it formed the most important route of supply for Chungking since the beginning of the China Affair. Consequent, however, upon the sudden change in the European situation last June, a change has occurred in the relations between Japan and French Indo-China, resulting in the closure of the border between French Indo-China and China itself, and the entry, by agreement, of Japanese armed forces into French Indo-China. Negotiations are now in progress in Tokyo in an amicable atmosphere on the basis of the Notes exchanged between the French Ambassador and myself in August last. It is my opinion that a realization by France of the necessity for co-operation with Japan, in the light of the new situation in the world in general and in East Asia in particular, is responsible for this development.

In connection with the French Indo-China question, I should like to refer to the relations between our country and Thailand. It may be recalled that at the General Assembly of the League of Nations dealing with the Manchurian Affair, in 1933, the Thai delegate did not leave the Assembly hall but remained in his seat, and boldly announced his abstention from voting. This is still fresh in the memory of our people.

In June, last year, a Treaty of Amity and Neutrality was concluded by Japan with Thailand. With the exchange of ratifications, completed on December 23, at Bangkok, the bonds of friendship between the two countries have been drawn still closer. A movement is now stirring the Thai people for the recovery of the lost territories which are at present incorporated in French Indo-China. The Thai troops are confronting the French Indo-China forces across the border with frequent conflicts occurring between them. Japan, the leader in East Asia, cannot afford to remain indifferent to such a dispute, which she hopes will be settled at the earliest possible opportunity.

An exchange of diplomatic representatives has taken place between Japan and Australia. We expect that the two countries will make contributions toward the promotion of the peace of the Pacific by further advancing their friendly relations through cordial co-operation and the elimination of unnecessary misunderstandings.

The relations between Japan and Near Eastern Countries have recently increased in cordiality. Our ratification of the Treaty of Amity with Iran is only one of many proofs that illustrate this happy state of affairs.

Japan and the Argentine have agreed to elevate the status of their Legations in each other's country to that of Embassies. With Brazil, a cultural agreement was signed in September last, and it has already been sanctioned by His Majesty the Emperor. Relations between Japan and Brazil are thus growing more and more cordial. It is a matter for hearty congratulation that Japan and those Latin American countries have of recent years become increasingly closer in their political, economic and cultural relations.



While diplomatic relations have taken such a favourable turn, the development of the European war has obliged us to suspend or temporarily withdraw some of our diplomatic establishments in that region. But Japan's diplomatic service abroad is being steadily strengthened on the principle of attaching special importance to specific countries. We are specially reinforcing our diplomatic machinery in Greater East Asia.

In establishing a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, and ensuring the peace of the Orient, it is not desirable that the present diplomatic relations between Japan and the Soviet Union should be left as they are. The utmost efforts are being made, therefore, to remove mutual misunderstandings and, if possible, to bring about a fundamental and far-reaching adjustment of diplomatic relations.

We are pursuing negotiations at this moment upon such questions as the frontier demarcation between Manchoukuo and Outer Mongolia, the fisheries and the Japanese concessions in North Saghalien. Regarding the fisheries question in particular, an agreement of views has already been reached concerning the establishment of a mixed commission composed of Japanese and Soviet representatives for the purpose of revising the longterm treaty and also concerning the conclusion of a modus vivendi for fishing industry for this year. On this point both Germany and Italy share Japan's desire. The provisions of Article V of the Three Power Pact also make it clear, in accordance with the above-mentioned intentions of Japan, that the Pact is not directed against the Soviet Union. We earnestly hope that the Soviet Union will understand Japan's true intentions and that the two countries, actuated by the spirit of mutual concession and conciliation, will succeed in achieving the readjustment of their relations.

Japan's foreign trade, with the exception of that with Manchoukuo and China, is conducted mostly with Great Britain, the United States and their respective colonies and possessions. Since notifying Japan of the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation in July, 1939, the United States has been enforcing in succession embargoes or restrictions on the exports of Japan of aircraft, arms and ammunition, aviation gasoline, machine tools, scrap iron, iron and steel manufactures, copper, nickel and other important war materials, while the British Dominions and colonies are in various ways interfering with Japan's shipping. The Japanese Government have lodged protests against such actions on each occasion, but this tendency has recently been so greatly aggravated that Japan must meet the situation adequately prepared. No other course is left to Japan but to go forward with perfecting herself as a state highly organized for national defense, not only in order to meet this pressure that I have referred to but also to secure an economic life of self-supply and self-sufficingness within the region of Greater East Asia.

In this connection, I should like to refer to our relations with the United States. The United States has evinced no adequate understanding of the fact that the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia is truly a matter of vital concern to Japan. She apparently entertains an idea that her own first line of national defence lies along the mid-Atlantic to the east, but westward not only along the eastern Pacific, but even as far as China and the South Seas. If the United States assumes such an attitude, it would be, to say the least, a very one sided contention on her part, to cast reflections on our superiority in the Western Pacific, by suggesting that it betokens ambitious designs. I, for one, believe that such a position assumed on the part of the United States would not be calculated to contribute toward the promotion of world peace. Speaking frankly, I should extremely regret such an attitude of the United States for the sake of Japanese-American friendship, for the sake of peace in the Pacific and, also, for the sake of the peace of the world in general. It is my earnest hope that a great nation exerting the influence that the United States does will realize her responsibility for the maintenance of peace, will reflect deeply on her attitude with truly God-fearing piety, will courageously liquidate past circumstances and bend her utmost efforts to allay the impending crisis of civilization.

The prevailing confusion of the international situation shows no sign of subsiding, but on the contrary, it tends to increase. Should the United States unfortunately become involved in the European war, and should Japan too, be compelled to participate in the war, another great World War both in name and reality would ensue, precipitating a situation which would defy all attempt at saving it. Should the war take its furious course, unleashing formidable new weapons which have not hitherto been used, no one could guarantee that it would not develop into a war spelling the downfall of modern civilization. The Three Power Pact has been concluded for the purpose not only of making sustained efforts for the establishment of a sphere of common prosperity throughout Greater East Asia, but of preventing, in its course, any further extension of the present disturbances. We must endeavour to terminate the current war as speedily as possible and to settle the chaos in which the world is plunged. We must, meanwhile, study in advance to discover some formula for the prevention of the recurrence of any such disturbance in the future.

With an unbroken line of Emperors reigning since its foundation, our Empire constitutes a unique family-State unparalleled in the world for unity and solidarity, which grow stronger with every national emergency. It is reassuring, moreover, to observe that the Japanese Empire is endowed with most favourable geographical conditions, powerful enough to influence the course of world politics. With the conviction of our race that Light radiates from the East and with the great ideal



of Hakko Ichiu, we must put forth our utmost efforts in the great task of establishing a new world order which is the object of the Tripartite Pact. That we shall succeed in this regard I have not the slightest doubt. If we are fully prepared for this task under these circumstances, the future of our Empire, I firmly believe, is full of promise.

In concluding my address, I respectfully pay my tribute to the spirits of these loyal and valiant officers and men, our countrymen, who have fallen in action, and at the same time, I tender my warm thanks to the armed forces of our nation for enduring so many hardships and privations, devoting to them my most sincere wishes for every success in the field.

第七十六回帝國議會ニ於ル松岡外務大臣演説 (一月二十一日)

本日第七十六議會ノ初ニ當リマシテ、茲ニ我カ外交ノ近況ニ就キ説明スル機會ヲ得マシタコトハ、私ノ最も欣幸トスル所デアリマス。

皇國ノ外交カ、我カ華國ノ理想タル、八紘一字ノ大精神ニ隨ヒ、萬邦ヲシテ各々ソノ所ヲ得シムルニ存スルコトハ、申スマテモナイ所デアリマス。

昨年九月二十七日締結サレマシタ、日獨伊三國同盟條約ノ目標トスル所モ亦斯カル大理念ノ貫徹ニアルノデアリマシテ、同條約締結ニ當リ、長クモ大詔ノ渙發ヲ拜シ、國民ノ向フヘキ所ヲ御開示サレマシタルコトハ、實ニ悉懼ニ堪ヘヌ所デアリマス。

本條約ニ於テ、獨伊兩國ハ、皇國カ大東亞ニ新秩序ヲ建設シ、且ツソノ國內ニ於テ、指導力ヲ保有スルコトヲ、承認シタノデアリマス。皇國ノ志ス所ハ、大東亞國內ニ於ケル各民族ヲシテ、ソノ本然固有ノ姿ニ立返ラシメ、和衷協同、共存共榮、調ハハ、國際的ニ隣保互助ノ實ヲ舉ゲ、以テ世界大同ノ範ヲ垂レンコトヲ期スルト云フ事ニ盡キルノデアリマス。又我國ハ、獨伊兩國ノ一ヨロツベニ於ケル同様ノ努力ニ關シ、其ノ指導的地位

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ヲ認メ、之ヲ支援シ、之ニ協力センコトヲ約シタ  
ノデアリマス。即チ、三國同盟條約ハ何國ヲモ敵  
視セス、世界新秩序建設ヲ目的トスル強力ナル提  
携デアルノデアリマス。既ニ本條約ニ差キ、三國  
ノ首都ニ、混合委員會ノ設置ヲ見ル迄ヒトナリ、  
三國ノ親善關係ハ、政治的ニモ、軍事的ニモ、經  
済的ニモ、將又文化的ニモ、愈々緊密ノ度ヲ加ヘ  
ツツアリマス。又昨年十一月中、本條約前文ノ趣  
旨ニ從ヒ「ハンガリー」、「ルーマニア」及ヒ「  
スロヴァキア」ノ三國カ本條約ニ参加致シマシタ。  
申ス迄モナク、今後我國ノ外交ハ、八紘一字ノ大  
理念ヲ差調トシ、此ノ三國條約ヲ樞軸トシテ、選  
用セラルルモノデアリマス。尙本條約ニ就イテ特  
ニ説明ヲ加ヘテ置キタイト思ヒマスコトハ、其ノ  
第三條デアリマス。即チ、同條ニ依レハ「三條約  
國中何レカノ一國カ現ニ歐洲戰爭又ハ日支紛争ニ  
参入シ居ラサル一國ニ依テ攻撃セラレタルトキハ、  
三國ハ有ラユル政治的、經濟的及軍事的方法ニ依  
リ相互ニ援助スヘキ」義務ヲ負フテキルコトハ明  
白デアリマシテ、苟モ新カル攻撃ヲ受ケタル場合  
ニハ、此ノ規定ニ依ル義務ハ當然ニ發生スルノテ  
アリマス。

序テヲ以テ一言致シマスレハ、伊太利ノ軍事行動

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ニ就キ種々ノ宜停カ行ハレテ居ル様デアリマスカ、  
遠カラス我カ盟邦伊太利カ、此ノ所期ノ目的ヲ達  
スルコトハ、私ノ疑ハサル所デアリマス。  
大東亞ニ於ケル諸國ノ中、我國ト特殊不可分ノ關  
係ニ在リマスル滿洲國ハ、建國以來早クモ十年ノ  
歲月ヲ重ネ、國礎漸ク固キヲ加ヘ、國際的地位モ  
日ヲ逐ウテ向上シ、國運隆昌ニ達キツツアルコト  
ハ、御承知ノ通りデアリマス。而シテ、昨年皇紀  
二千六百年<sup>（二月）</sup>當リ、我カ皇室ニ御祝詞ヲ述ヘサセ  
ラレル爲メ、同國皇帝陛下ノ御訪問ヲ見マシタル  
コトハ、愈々以テ兩國カ、一德一心ノ關係ヲ具現  
シツツアルコトノ顯著ナル表徴トシテ、日滿兩國  
民ノ、等シク慶賀措ク能ハサル所デアリマス。又  
過般ハ、日華基本條約締結ト同時ニ、日滿華共同  
宣言ニ依リ、中華民國ハ滿洲國ヲ承認シ、滿華兩  
國間ニ大使ノ交換ヲ見ルコトトナリマシタ。  
出來得ルコトナラハ、一日モ速ニ、支那事變ヲ處  
理スルコトカ、大東亞共榮圈樹立ニ就テ望マシキ  
コトデアリマスノテ、現內閣成立以來蔣政權ノ反  
省ヲ促シ、汪精衛氏ヲ主班トセル南京政府トノ合  
流促進ヲ企圖シタノデアリマスカ、同政權ハ未タ  
ニ反省スル所ナク、抗戰ヲ續ケテ居リマス。然シ  
乍ラ、蔣政權內部ノ分裂軋轢音ク激化シ來リ、同



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政權支配下ノ民衆ハ、物價騰貴、物資不足其他アラエル艱苦窮乏ニ悩マテ居リ、又一面蔣政權ノ抗戦力モ低下シ、他面最近ハ共產軍ノ勢力頓ニ増大シ、次第ニ國民軍ノ地盤ヲ蠶食シツツアルヤウナ事情デアリマシテ、蔣介石モ共產軍ノ跋扈跳梁ニハ餘蘊苦シメラレテ居ル模様デアリマス。窮狀斯クノ如キニモ拘ラズ、今猶抗戦建國ヲ標榜スル主ナル原因ハ、英米殊ニ米國ノ援助ニ望ミヲ掛ケルト共ニ、過去ノ行懸リニ捉ハレテ居ル爲メデアルト思ハレマス。英國ハ、昨年六月、一時香港及緬甸援蔣一ルートヲ通スル物資ノ輸送ヲ止メタノデアリマスカ、三國同盟成立後、十月十八日ニ至リ、緬甸一ルートヲ再開シ、爾來物資ノ輸送ニ努メテ居ル模様デアリマス。又最近蔣政權ニ對シ一千萬磅ノ借款ヲ與ヘマシタ。米國モ亦之ト前後シテ、一億弗ノ借款ヲ約束シマシタカ、目下米國ハ國ヲ舉ケテ、英國ニ對シテ大規模ノ援助ヲ企テテ居ル際デモアリ、又忠勇果敢ナル我抗盟部隊ノ適切ナル處置ニ依リ、緬甸一ルートガ屢々大破損ヲ蒙リツツアル現状ニ於テ、實際幾何ノ援助ヲナシ得ルカ、甚タ疑問デアリマス。

右ノ如キ情勢ニ鑑ミ、我政府ハ既定方針ニ從ヒ、昨年十一月三十日、南京ノ國民政府ヲ承認シ、之

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ト是本條約ヲ結ンタノデアリマス。此ノ條約ハ善  
隣友好、經濟提携及ヒ共同防共ノ三原則ヲ具体化  
シタモノデアリマシテ、日華兩國ハ相互ニ其ノ主  
權ト領土トラ尊重シツツ、平等互恵ノ原則ニ依リ、  
緊密ナル經濟提携ヲ行ヒ、又兩國ハ共同シテ共產  
主義ヲ防壓スル爲メ、蒙疆及ヒ華北ノ一定地域ニ  
皇軍ノ駐屯スルコト等ヲ規定シテ居リマス、皇軍  
カ領土及ヒ戰費ノ賠償ヲ求メス、又進ンテ治外法  
權ヲ撤廢シ、租界ヲ返還スルノ方針ヲ約シタコト  
ハ、東亞民族ノ道義ニ依ル結合ヲ衷心念願シテ居  
ル一ツノ確乎タル表現デアリ、證左デアリマス。  
已ニ是本條約ヲ締結シ、日清華共同宣言セ發セラ  
レタ以上、我々ハ一意専心、汪精衛氏ヲ主班トス  
ル國民政府ヲ援助シ、名實共ニ之ヲ中華民國ノ中  
央政府タラシメネハナリマセヌ、斯クテ日清華三  
國ヲ幹根トシ愈々大東亞共榮圈ノ樹立ニ向ツテ萬  
難ヲ排シ邁進セントスルノ態勢ヲ執リ來ツタノテ  
アリマス。

次ニ大東亞共榮圈內ノ蘭領印度、佛領印度支那及  
ヒ泰國等ノ關係ヲ一瞥シマスルニ、蘭印、佛印等  
ハ地理的情勢其他ノ上ヨリモ、我國ト緊密不可分  
ノ關係ニアルヘキテ、從來之ヲ阻害シ來ツタ事態  
ハ、飽クマテ之ヲ匡正シ、相互ノ繁榮ヲ促進スル



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爲メ、隣保互助ノ關係ノ設定ヲ期セホベナリマセ  
ン。政府ハ此見地ヨリシテ昨年九月初旬特ニ小林  
商工大臣ヲ蘭印ニ派遣致シマシタノテアリマスカ、  
石油購入其他ニ關シ、重要ニシテ急ヲ要スル問題  
ノ交渉一段落ヲ告ゲタルヲ機會ニ、長ク現地ニ滞  
在スルコトヲ許サナイ事情セアリマスノテ、同代  
表ノ歸朝ヲ見ルニ至リ、次テ政府ハ過般其ノ後任  
トシテ、芳澤元外務大臣ヲ派遣シ、已ニ交渉ヲ再  
開シテ居ルノテアリマス。

佛印ハ支那事變カ勃發致シマシテ以來、援蔣一ル  
ート一ノ最モ重要ナルモノテアリマシタカ、昨年  
六月、一ヨーロッパニ於ケル情勢ノ急變ト共ニ、  
日本ト佛印ノ關係モ亦變化ヲ來シ、佛印ノ支那國  
境附近、皇軍進駐等ノ事實カ相續イテ起ツクノテ  
アリマス。尙昨年八月私ト駐日佛國大使トノ間ニ  
交渉セラレマシタ文書ニ基キ、目下東京ニ於テ交  
渉カ開カレテ居ル次第テアリマスカ、頗ル友好的  
雰囲気ノ裡ニ進捗シテ居リマス。右ハ佛蘭西カ世  
界ノ新情勢ト東亞ノ新事態ニ基キ、日、佛提携ノ  
必要ヲ認識シタカラニ外ナラスト思考致シマス。

佛印問題ニ關聯シテ申シ上ケタイノハ、我國ト泰  
國トノ關係テアリマス。昭和八年ノ滿洲事變ニ關  
スル國際聯盟總會ノ際、同國代表カ議場ニ留マリ、

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我國民ノ記憶ニ新案ナカ所アリサス。

昨年六月、彼我ノ國ニ、友好中立條約カ調印セラレ、十二月二十三日經谷ニ於テ批准交換ヲ了シ、兩國ノ親善關係ハ益々緊密ヲ加ヘツツアルノデアリマス。同國ニ於テハ、今次偽印ニ於ケル失地同復運動カ澎湃トシテ起リ目下同國ノ軍隊ハ偽印軍ト國境ニ於テ對峙シ、衝突爆發ノ模様デアリマスカ、斯カル紛争ハ東亞ノ指導者タル我國ノ到底無關心タリ得サル所デアリマシテ、我國トシテハ、ソノ一日モ速ニ解決ヲ見ムコトヲ希望スル次第デアリマス。

今同我國ト<sup>豪</sup>澳洲トノ間ニ公使ヲ交換スルコトナリマシタカ、傳統的友好關係ニ結ハレタル兩國ハ、今後直接接ヲ交ヘテ隔意ナキ話合ニ依リ、不必具ナル誤解ヲ一掃シ、兩國ノ親善促進ニ依ツテ、太平洋ノ平和増進ニ貢獻センコトヲ期シテ居リマス。猶一、イラン一國トノ間ノ修好條約ハ既ニ御批准ノ手續ヲ完了シ、我國ト近東諸國トノ關係モ最近頃ニ親善ニ近キツツアリマス。

更ニ我國ト亞爾然丁國トノ間ニモ、通般相互ニ公使館ヲ大使館ニ昇格スルコトニ致シマシタ。又一、ブラジル一國トハ同シク昨年九月文化協定カ締結



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セラレ既ニ御批准ヲ見ルニ至リ、兩國關係ハ益々敦睦ヲ加ヘツツアリマス。之等諸國ト我國トノ關係カ、近年政治的ニモ、經濟的ニモ、文化的ニモ、急遽ニ密接トナリツツアルコトハ、眞ニ慶賀スヘキコトデアルト思ヒマス。

斯クノ如キ外交關係ノ進展ヲ見マスル一方、歐洲戰爭ノ影響ニ依リ、在歐大公使館中ニハ引揚又ハ廢止ノ餘儀ナキニ至ツタモノモアリマス。併シナカラモ在外外交機關ニ就テハ重點主義ニ依リ、着々ソノ充實ヲ圖ツテ居ルノデアリマシテ、就中大東亞共榮圈內ニ於テハ極力外交網ノ整備ニ努メテ居リマス。

大東亞共榮圈ヲ建設シ、東洋平和ヲ確保スル爲ニハ、此際日蘇兩國ノ國交ヲ、現在ノ儘ニ推移セシムルコトハ、望マシクアリマセヌノテ何トカシテ相互ノ誤解ヲ除キ、出來ルコトナラハ、進ンテ全面的ニ且根本的ニ國交ノ調整ヲ計リタイト云フ考ヘヲ以テ折角努力中デアリマス。滿蒙國境問題、漁業問題、北樺太利權問題等ニ付キマシテモ、任意交渉ヲ續ケテ居リ、就中漁業問題ニ關シテハ漁業本條約改訂ノ爲メノ日蘇混合委員會設置竝ニ取敢ス本年度漁業ニ關スル暫定取極ニ付、既ニ合意ヲ見タ様ナ次第デアリマス。三國條約第五條ノ規

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定モ、コノ趣旨ヲ以テ本條約カ蘇聯邦ニ對スルモ  
ノテナイコトヲ、明カニシタセノテアリマスカ、  
獨伊兩國モ亦同意テアルノテアリマス。蘇聯邦カ  
遠ニ我方ノ真意ヲ諒解スルニ至リ、兩國カ交談妥  
協ノ精神ヲ以テ、國交調整ニ成就セムコトヲ希望  
シテ居リマス。

我國ノ通商貿易ハ滿支兩國以外ニ於テハ、主トシ  
テ英米兩國及ヒ其ノ殖民地島嶼トノ間ニ行ハレテ  
居ルノテアリマス。米國ハ一昨年七月、日米通  
商條約廢棄ノ通告以來、逐次我國ニ對シ、飛行機、  
武器彈藥、航空用「ガソリン」、工作機軸、屑鐵、  
鐵製品、銅、「ニッケル」、其ノ他ノ重要軍需資  
材ノ輸出ヲ禁止若クハ制限シ、又美國島嶼各地ニ  
於テハ我國ノ海運ニ對シ、種々ノ妨害ヲ加ヘテ居  
リマス。之等ニ對シテハ、我方ヨリ其都度抗議ヲ  
提出シテ居ルノテアリマス。此ノ傾向ハ最近益  
々甚ダシク、我國トシテモ充分ナル用意ヲ以テ之  
ニ處スルコトカ必要テアリ、殊ニ我國ハ此ノ壓迫  
ニ堪フル必要カラシテモ、大東亞共榮圈ニ於テ、  
自給自足ノ經濟生活ヲ確保シ、高度國防國家體制  
ノ建設ニ邁進セサルヲ得ナイノテアリマス。  
此ノ點ニ關聯シ、日米關係ニ言及致シマス。米國  
ハ日本ノ大東亞共榮圈建設カ、我國ノ死活的要



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テアルコトニ對シ、充分ナル理解ヲ示サスノデア  
リマス。米國カ一面、自ラ東ハ中部大國洋ヲ、西  
ハ獨リ東太平洋ノミナラス、他面更ニ支那及ヒ南  
洋ヲ以テ、其ノ國防ノ第一線テアルカノ如キ態度  
ヲ執リ、日本ノ西太平洋ヲ支配スラ野心觀シテ、  
之ヲ非難スル如キ口吻ヲ洩ラスニ至ツテハ、餘リ  
ニモ身勝手ナル言分デアリ、ソシテ、ソレハ決シ  
テ世界平和ノ増進ニ寄與スル所以テハアリマセン。  
卒直ニ申セハ、私ハ日米國交ノ爲メニ、太平洋上  
ノ平和ノ爲メニ、將又世界全般ノ平和ノ爲メニ、  
斯カル米國ノ態度ヲ頗ル遺憾トスル者デアリマス。  
大國民タル米國民ハ須ラク、ソノ世界平和ニ對シ  
テ負フ所ノ責任ニ目覺メ、眞ニ静ヲ長レル敬虔ノ  
念ヲ以テ、深ク反省シ、行應リノ如キハ大悟シテ  
之ヲ一掃シ、現代文明ノ危機ヲ打開スル爲メ、ソ  
ノ力ヲ用キンコトヲ希望シテ止マナイ者デアリマ  
ス。

現下世界政局ノ混亂ハ、猶當分假借ノ模様ナキノ  
ミナラス、次第ニ依ツテハ一層激化セントスル傾  
向ニアリマス。今後、若シ、米國カ不幸ニシテ歐  
洲戰爭ニ捲キ込マレ、我國モ亦遂ニ参戰ノ餘儀ナ  
キニ立至ルカ如キコトアラハ、名實共に眞ニ戰慄  
スヘキ第二ノ世界大戰トナリ、容易ニ收拾スヘカ

ラサル事無ニ立至ルテアリマセウ。

殊ニ將來勢ノ微スル所、今日迄用ヒラレタ以上ノ、  
強烈ナル新銳武器ヲ以テ戰フコトニモナレハ、誰  
カ現代文明ノ没落戰タラサルヲ保證出來ルテアリ  
マセウカ。故ニ、我々ハ大東亞共榮國樹立ノ努力  
ヲ進ムルト共ニ、其ノ遂行途上ニ於テ、世界ノ混  
亂ノ擴大ヲ防止センカ爲メ、一ツニハ三國條約ヲ  
結ンタノテアリマス。今後我々ハ一日モ速カニ、  
現在ノ戰爭ヲ終熄セシメ、世界ノ混亂ヲ鎮靜セシ  
ムルト同時ニ將來新クノ如キ禍亂ヲ再發セシメサ  
ル方途ニ就キ、今日カラ考ヘテ置ク必要カアルト  
思フノガアリマス。

惟フニ、我國ハ上ニ萬世一系ノ天皇ヲ戴キ、團結  
鞏固ナルコト世界ニ無比ナル家族國家テアリマシ  
テ、國難ト共ニ益々朝野ノ團結ヲ強メルノヲ特徵  
ト致シマス。更ニ我々ノ意ヲ強ウスルノハ、世界  
政局ヲ左右スルニ足ル皇國ノ絶好ナル地理的條件  
テアリマシテ、「光ハ東方ヨリ」ナル民族的信念  
ニ生キ、八紘一字ノ大理想ニ燃エ、三國同盟條約  
ノ目標タル世界新秩序建設ノ大業ニ精進スヘキテ  
アリマス。私ハ其ノ成功ヲ擬ヒマセン。而シテ此  
間ニ處シ、我國民ニシテ充分ナル覺悟タニアラハ  
皇國ノ前途亦眞ニ洋々ダルモノノアルコトヲ確信



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誠シマス。

終リニ、私ハ、隨シテ聖戦ノ爲メニ戦レタ我忠勇  
ナル將士ノ英霊ニ對シ、衷心ヨリ其ノ冥福ヲ祈ル  
ト共ニ皇軍全体ノ勞苦ニ對シ深甚ナル感謝ノ意ヲ  
表シ、其ノ武運長久ヲ祈ルモノデアリマス。